1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

616

Patrilineal Groups

In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa"ei and the t'aɬɬele'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pe"ulelt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɬɬelelt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ei. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ei, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɬɬelelt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pe"ulelt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ei.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɬel, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ta'ilga"s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,* when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

* How Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

versions were recorded in Washo, all urging the people to assume themselves and refrain from fighting and troublesome conduct.

A dance borrowed from the Paviotso was described as follows. Early in the spring a Paviotso chief calls his Indians to dance. "Dance for everything to come up pretty well in growth. Frost and storm, stop and do not kill the blossoms. Whenever pine nuts grow, let them be big burrs with plenty of nuts. May no worms get in." He took off one burr, put a little medicine on it, painted the burr, and made a hole for storing the nuts, so they would not be dry and so there would be plenty. The Washo heard about this from the Paviotso and did likewise.

Some Washo, of his own accord, would arrange a festive gathering at any season of the year, two or three men conferring about getting the food together. One man would sing, and others circled about, taking up his song. Sometimes women stepped between two men. Hand holding was called gabalz'epa. Sometimes they danced for five or six consecutive nights. The gathering was also an occasion for foot races, football, and hand games.

Games

The athletic games included football (palo'yapi teli"liwa palo'yap), the hoop-and-pole game, archery, and the women's shinny (taigai'yaga). In pure gambling there were the hand game (hinai'yaya, hinaiyu'uhia), another hiding game (tau'tauyi), and a women's dice game.

Football players, youths of 17 or 18 able to run fast, stripped to their gee strings. Dave agrees with Hudson[1] that each side was composed of 3 men and that goals consisted of 2 sticks. Hudson describes these as 10 feet high and about 4 feet apart, the field being about 300 feet long; Dave spoke of uprights about 15 feet high and not connected by a crossbar. One player—according to Hudson, the captain in the center of the field—threw the ball up, and then it was kicked toward the base. The ball (ko'mol) was 6 inches in diameter and filled with the inner bark of sagebrush (Hudson). Men of complementary patrilineal groups played against each other (p. 304).

In peho"a, two pairs of men tested their skill in archery, the players shooting at a willow stick with bark removed. They measured which arrow came closest to the stick; striking it in the middle scored 4, and 15 points won the game. There was no cheating. All the Indians would look on. (Dave.)

In another archery contest[2] ("taohotumpeah," Hudson), an arrow was planted in a position slanting toward the marksman, who from a distance of sixty feet threw a blunt three-foot arrow at it. Opponents took turns in trying either to strike the leaning arrow or to knock away the opponents' missile. Either of these feats counted 1, and dislodging the target scored 5. Several could play, each with a stipulated number of darts.

Hudson[3] describes two forms of hoop-and-pole game (pululpai'yayapa, pululpaiyapa) not mentioned by my informants. In the first, one player rapidly rolled a willow hoop twelve inches in diameter past his opponent, who

[1] Culin, *op. cit.*, 704. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 296. [3] *Ibid.*, 322.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

526 tried to impale it, thereby scoring 1. The winning score was 7, counted with sticks. In the second form, the hoop was held in the hand, the outstretched fingers in the center. "The opponent endeavors to catch between his fingers the small dart thrown by his opponent." In a variant, an actual arrow was thrown, the opponent being often hurt in the hand.

Shinny goals were 200 feet apart, and the ball was a buckskin strap contested for with 4-foot rods ("tsekai'yak"), evidently connected with the name of the game itself (tsikayaka, Hudson).[1] According to my informants, the players sided by patrilineal groups but did not paint themselves. The ball (pete'ilai) was a rope made from buckskin or from the inner bark of sagebrush, 2 feet long and 1½ inches thick, and was thrown with a forward movement, players picking up the ball and throwing it into the air. They knocked one another down, fell on one another, and tripped up opponents with their sticks. Goals were marked with brush. According to Bill, there were 8 women [525] on each side; Mrs. Hardy had seen only 4 when watching a game. The game was played all day in the spring. Wagers included baskets of various kinds, and buckskins.

524 In the hand game, too, the division into patrilineal groups held, according to one informant (cf. p. 304). There were generally 6 men and 5 counters on each side. Sometimes only women played the game (Dave). The hand with the plain bone (tetye.'emi) was guessed, the bound bone (tatai'da) being handled only for confusing the opponents. Two in the group handled bones and sang, assistants slapping sticks; guessers viewed them, and one of them waved his hand to indicate the position of the plain bone. If he succeeded, he took the bones; if he guessed both opponents' hands, he got counters as well—2 counters if both plain bones were guessed; for 1 bone guessed, 1 counter. If [525] both were missed, the guessers forfeited 2 counters. The transfer of bones to another player is called gobobu'eul."

[817] According to my informants, old men, 6 to 8 on each side, played at tsa'tsoyi, pa'la.a"ei being pitted against the ta'gidal and each betting heavily. Four sticks, one pair longer than the other, were covered with a basket, the concealer singing a song. The guessers were to indicate that the two big ones were in the middle, the guesser putting out his right index finger, with the palm of his hand down. As soon as the guessers caught all the sticks, they scored a point. It was then their turn to hide them. Ten points won the game. This evidently corresponds to Hudson's "dtsudtsu" or "tsutsu," in which an inverted winnowing basket was held with the left hand while nine small sticks, 3½ inches long, were held in the right and a number of them hidden." The opponent had to guess whether the number was odd or even. Hudson mentions this pastime under the head of both "stick" and "hidden ball" games. In the latter category he calls it "it-dtsu-dtsu" and describes it as follows: A set consists of 2 "female" sticks, 10 inches long and bound with buckskin to prevent noise

[1] Ibid., 894.
[2] Ibid., 322 f. The account given above is mainly derived from this source.
[3] Ibid., 322, 325.

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle aeries and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship.

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached.

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (wɬmɬlti, pauwalu, and hangalɬlti).

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership.

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation.

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (dɬtumo) beyond the

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled.

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golasg) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 211

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 280

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (walitstsini) and black (wɬlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipɬk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelɬi tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (peolelɬi tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

If no young or old people were around to receive them, the heart and liver of a deer, antelope, or rabbit were thrown away. The fetus of an animal and the eggs of scavenger birds were never eaten. Coyote, lizard, snake, frog, and eagle meat were also taboo. When a person died all of his personal belongings were abandoned or destroyed. The home of the deceased was torn down or burned. Food produced by the deceased was destroyed or traded off for other food. One informant said that even clothes made by the deceased and given to another person were often destroyed.

Downs (1961, 375) wrote that, "Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical." The present writer has a similar impression, but it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the role of religion in economy since the data on this subject are so fragmentary today. Economic distribution related to the supernatural, such as the instances of ceremonial disposal described above, appears to be the most intimate, "primary" form of distribution. The importance of the supernatural side of the Washo world view is seen in the mythology collections by Dangberg (1927) and Lowie (1939).

Gambling

Gambling (gawa) provided the most competitive basis for exchange among the Washo. It was more competitive than trade and was antithetical to the ideal of sharing. Teams that gambled and won together divided the winnings, but the competition between teams was intense and not necessarily proportionate to the value of the objects wagered.

The Washo would bet on any game or competition. Foot races (gumi'shi'sh) for four, five, or six miles were a favorite subject of wagers. Bets were made on the outcome of the men's football game or the women's stick and rope game. Usually the players themselves would bet. Archery, a ring and pin game, a rock-toss game (umiaiste), a quoit game, and wrestling were all the subjects of betting. Sometimes the wager would involve only a hit on the head or hand, but often the stakes would get high, requiring payment of baskets, eagle tail feathers, jewelry, buckskins, or even a rabbit skin blanket.

The favorite gambling games were those involving the manipulation of small sticks or bones, the hand games (hinaya when played by women and hinayeugi when played by men), stick games (sigaya), dice games, and basket games. These games were often major social events in themselves involving teams of players and dozens of spectators. The men and women always played separately. The games also involved chants, foot stamping, and other tactics to throw the opposing team off. Today men and women gamble together and the hand games have been replaced by card games.

881
(777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 308) says she lay on warm ashes
contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her
(224) clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them
bad luck in hunting.

(535) On the fourth night of the menace, the girl's parents invited their
(574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or an-
other female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the spon-
sor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a
mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With
the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the
fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
(856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made
the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the
mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed
by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
(824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say
the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-
(526) relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs
of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for
her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not,
everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would
be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
(778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An
attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who
was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted.
The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced be-
tween them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
(533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced;
the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs
composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other wom-
en joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance
clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing
continued until dawn.

755
178
756

(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

527
791
824
222
(787)
(782)
(535)

One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

222
824
527
(791)
(262)
(211)
(624)

Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsaldi) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526
527
(515)
(525)
(616)

The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 335-6) says the Washo did not have the ball race.

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing.

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game.

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser.

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket.

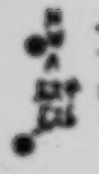
526
527
[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

527
535
[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced
[815] and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[252] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926, 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the people bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop be good and not make people sick.

[782]
[515]
[222]
[782]

527
178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others.
[535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]